

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 073736

P R 171800Z DEC 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2915

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0487

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 17, 1975
(SALT TWO - 881)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF DECEMBER 17, 1975.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, DECEMBER 17, 1975

I

TODAY IS THE LAST MEETING BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS DEPART FOR
THE RECESS. I WILL BRIEFLY ADDRESS SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING
THE STATUS OF OUR WORK AS OF THE PRESENT TIME.

IN COMPARING THE STATE OF AFFAIRS WITH THAT OF MAY 7, 1975,
IT CAN BE SEEN THAT ADDITIONAL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON A
NUMBER OF PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT TEXT OF THE DRAFT. WHAT HAS
BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN THIS FIELD IS RECORDED IN THE JOINT DOCUMENT

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PREPARED IN THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS

OF DELEGATION.

PROGRESS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUES ENTRUSTED TO THE DELEGATIONS WAS FACILITATED BY AN EXTENSIVE AND USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH MADE IT POSSIBLE TO EXPLORE MANY OF THE ASPECTS INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT THE JOINT PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT. THE WORK OF THE DRAFTING GROUP WHICH, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE DELEGATIONS, CONTRIBUTED TO FINDING AGREED SOLUTIONS, DESERVES TO BE NOTED.

SOME OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT ARE AGREED AD REFERENDUM TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE SIDES.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE WORK TO BE PERFORMED BY THE DELEGATIONS AFTER THE RECESS, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE U.S. SIDE TO THE FOLLOWING.

A SUBSTANTIAL PLACE IN THE DRAFT BEING PREPARED IS HELD BY ARTICLE II--ON DEFINITIONS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE DEFINITIONS BEING WORKED OUT BE FORMULATED STRICTLY WITH RESPECT TO THOSE SYSTEMS WHICH, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, WILL BE LIMITED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE LIMITS OF 2,400 AND 1,320. THIS IS THE APPROACH ENSUING FROM THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, ADHERED TO BY THE SOVIET SIDE. ARTICLE II MUST HAVE NO ROOM FOR FORMULATIONS WHICH DEPRIVE THE DEFINITIONS OF NECESSARY PRECISION AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE ARBITRARILY TO READY INTO THEM A CONTENT HAVING NOTHING IN COMMUN WITH THE SCOPE OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THE USSR DELEGATION PRESENTED APPROPRIATE RATIONALE EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF ARTICLE VIII (HERE AND SUBSEQUENTLY THE NEW NUMBERING IS USED, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED IN THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP)--ON NOT EQUIPPING ANY TYPE OF AIRPLANE, HELICOPTER OR OTHER AIRCRAFT, OTHER THAN HEAVY BOMBERS, WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, AND ON NOT USING TRANSPORT AIRPLANES AS DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND ON NOT CONVERTING THEM FOR THESE PURPOSES. THE NEED TO AGREE UPON MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES ON THIS SCORE IS DICTATED BY THE TASK OF BLOCKING ALL CHANNELS FOR CONTINUING A RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

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FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ENSURING THE EFFECTIVENESS AND DURABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, IT IS ALSO OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ARTICLE IX, SUBPAR. (B)--ON BANNING SEA-BASED CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS TABLED NEW CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR ARTICLES I

XII AND XIII, WHICH ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR ENSURING THE STABILITY AND VIABILITY OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT AFTER THE RECESS THE U.S. SIDE WILL BE PREPARED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THESE ARTICLES.

WE WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE THE WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE INDIVIDUAL FORMULAS IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3--ON NOT USING DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE USSR DELEGATION HAS REPEATEDLY SET FORTH THE APPROACH OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO THIS QUESTION, AT THE MEETING OF DECEMBER 3, 1975 AMONG OTHERS. YOU ARE AWARE OF THE CONSIDERATIONS WE EXPRESSED IN THIS CONNECTION.

THERE REMAINS THE QUESTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS OF ARTICLE XVII, PAR. 2--ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION WITH RESPECT TO THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT. IN THIS WE ALSO PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS WE HAVE PRESENTED REGARDING THE GROUNDLESSNESS OF THE PROPOSALS FOR PERIODIC EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMBERS BY CATEGORY OF THE SIDES' STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, ON PRIOR NOTIFICATIONS, ON CONSIDERING, ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, VERIFICATION ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH SYSTEMS, INCLUDING NEW TYPES, WILL BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY THE U.S. SIDE IN THE COURSE OF ANALYSING NEGOTIATION ISSUES DURING THE RECESS.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 073874

P R 171800Z DEC 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2916

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA SECTION 2 OF 2 0487

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HERE WE HAVE CITED ONLY SOME OF THE ISSUES OF THE DRAFT,
WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER ANALYSIS.

IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING OUT LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN THE
DRAFT BEING PREPARED, DURING PAST DISCUSSIONS THE USSR DELEGATION
HAS TABLED A WHOLE SERIES OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ON THE ISSUES
UNDER DISCUSSION. THIS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO PROGRESS AT THE
NEGOTIATIONS. WE ANTICIPATE THAT AFTER THE RECESS THE U.S. SIDE,
TOO, WILL TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TOWARD REACHING AGREEMENT UPON THE
PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, IN STRICT CONFORMITY WITH THE SPIRIT
AND LETTER OF THE VLADIVOSTOK SOVIET-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING AT THE
HIGHEST LEVEL, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED.

II

ON THE QUESTION OF DEFINING HEAVY BOMBERS IN CONNECTION WITH
THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 12, 1975, I WOULD
LIKE TO SAY THE FOLLOWING.

THE ASSERTION, ONCE AGAIN MADE IN THE U.S. DELEGATION'S
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STATEMENT, THAT UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT "TYPES OF AIRCRAFT HOWEVER
CONFIGURED" MUST BE LIMITED, IS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE AIDE-
MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, THE PROVISIONS OF WHICH ARE TO
GUIDE US.

AS YOU KNOW, THIS FUNDAMENTAL DOCUMENT SPECIFIES THAT IN THE
FRAMEWORK OF THE 2,400 EQUAL AGGREGATE LIMIT BEING ESTABLISHED,
IN ADDITION TO LAND-BASED ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS, IT IS
PRECISELY "HEAVY BOMBERS IF THE LATTER ARE QUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR
AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE NOT EXCEEDING 600 KILOMETERS"
THAT WILL BE LIMITED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT. THUS, THE AIDE-
MEMOIRE REFERS NOT TO "TYPES OF AIRCRAFT HOWEVER CONFIGURED,"
BUT PRECISELY AND UNAMBIGUOUSLY TO HEAVY BOMBERS, DELIVERY VEHICLES
FOR A CERTAIN TYPES OF WEAPON.

THE SOVIET VERSION OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT
SPECIFIES THAT HEAVY BOMBERS WHICH ARE NUCLEAR WEAPON DELIVERY
AIRCRAFT, FOR THE U.S.--B-52 AND B-1, FOR THE USSR--TUPOLEV-95
AND MYASISHCHEV, I.E. SPECIFIC HEAVY BOMBERS OF THE SIDES, AND
NOT TYPES OF AIRCRAFT. IT IS PRECISELY THIS APPROACH THAT IS
CONSISTENT WITH WHAT IS RECORDED ON THIS SCORE IN THE AIDE-
MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, AND IT IS PRECISELY HERE THAT WE
FIND A CERTAIN CLOSENESS BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND U.S. FORMULATIONS.

AS FOR THE AIRCRAFT CALLED BACKFIRE IN THE U.S., THE SOVIET SIDE
ONCE AGAIN RESOLUTELY REAFFIRMS THAT THIS AIRCRAFT IS A MEDIUM
BOMBER AND THEREFORE ATTEMPTS TO INCLUDE IT AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS,
NO MATTER UNDER WHAT PRETEXT THEY ARE UNDERTAKEN, ARE COMPLETELY
GROUNDLESS.

THE FORMULATION CONCERNING "TYPES OF AIRCRAFT HOWEVER
CONFIGURED" IS CONTRARY TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE CITED
HERE. THE PROPOSED FORMULATION WOULD IN ESSENCE MAKE IT POSSIBLE
ARBITRARILY TO INCLUDE AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS AIR CRAFT WHICH ARE
NOT HEAVY BOMBERS. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THIS WOULD RUN COUNTER
TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, AND CANNOT
BE ACCEPTABLE.

THE CONSIDERATIONS CONTAINED IN THE U.S. DELEGATION'S
STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 12, 1975, WITH ARE AIMED AT JUSTIFYING
THE THESIS UNDER WHICH SOVIET TANKER AIRCRAFT WOULD BE AMONG
THE SYSTEMS LIMITED, WHILE U.S. TANKER AIRCRAFT WOULD REMAIN
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OUTSIDE THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED, ARE COMPLETELY
UNFOUNDED.

TANKER AIRCRAFT ARE TANKER AIRCRAFT, AND NOT HEAVY BOMBERS,
AND ACCORDING TO THE AIDE-MEMOIRE THEY ARE NOT SUBJECT TO
INCLUSION IN THE EQUAL AGGREGATE LEVEL OF 2,400.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE, ON
DECEMBER 3, 1975 THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH,
FOR TANKER AIRCRAFT, AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVELS, EQUAL FOR THE
USSR AND THE U.S., AND TO ASSUME MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS NOT TO
CONVERT THEM INTO HEAVY BOMBERS.

THIS CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE PROVIDES
A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION RAISED HERE
REGARDING TANKER AIRCRAFT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AGREEMENT
BEING PREPARED, IN FULL ACCORD WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE
OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN CONCLUSION WE WOULD LIKE TO WISH THE MEMBERS AND STAFF
OF THE U.S. DELEGATION A PLEASANT JOURNEY AND A GOOD CELEBRATION
OF THE COMING HOLIDAYS.

UNTIL OUR MEETING IN GENEVA ON JANUARY 12, 1976 AT THE
RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS.
JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00487
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750439-0012
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751231/aaaabbho.tel
Line Count: 275
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <10 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 17, 1975 (SALT TWO - 881)
TAGS: PARM, UR, US, (SEMENOV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006